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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Katonah's Summer Time

The Chinese Want to be Men

By Secretary Brown of I. F. T. U.

New Paths

In Workers' Education

Hello, Europe!

Is a Shorter Work—Day Enough?

Brother Brown on the Young Idea

\$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

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"INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY" MAKES DEMANDS

Employers' Drive Bids Workers Awaken

IMAGINE the autocratic King Louis XIV.—he who said: "I am the State"—handing out to his boot-licking subjects a political democracy for which they did not ask. Had that occurred two hundred and fifty years ago, history would have recorded that the Age of Miracles had come back. As it turned out—it simply wasn't done. The people of France had to win their political freedom from his grandson in rather strenuous fashion.

Fairy-Taleedom is passing around a story almost as good as that would have been, for our own day and age. The Employing Interests are handing out "Industrial Democracy." All the workers have to do is to step up to the counter and get it. This is the sequel to the Open Shop comedy—which the Industrial Captains have put on the stage under the name of "Works Councils."

We refer to this again—and will do so over and over in the future—because it is the biggest problem which Organized Labor in America has to face. That the "Works Councils" have spread far and wide, no one can deny. That they have become merely an instrument to enslave the workers, under the guise of giving them something that the war had promised

them, is becoming more clearly evident with each investigation of the operation of these employer-controlled bodies.

The cat is let out of the bag by Mr. James Myers, himself in charge of an "employees representation plan," in his book on REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRY. "The writer," he says, "knows of no instance in the history of employee representation where wages have been raised through the pure initiative of the works council. Either wages in the employee representation shops have 'followed the market' where the general increase has taken place due to the pressure of the unions and often at the conclusion of a strike in the industry as a whole, or else the works councils have been used merely as the formal instruments of the company to install a wage increase which is a wise move in the business judgment of the management during a period of labor shortage or to forestall general union action on a rising market. Directly or indirectly the international union has been at the bottom of most of the wage increases granted under 'industrial democracy.'"

(Continued on page 28)

Labor Age

The National Monthly

From Dawn to Dusk at Katonah

How They Do It—"In the Good, Old Summer Time"

By A. J. MUSTE



THE MAIN HOUSE

"Overlooking the Beautiful Valley in Which Nestles the Village of Katonah"

"WHAT do trade unionists do when they go to summer school at Brookwood?" Let us take a day during the Railroad Labor Institute. At seven o'clock in the morning you might see individuals or small groups coming out of the dormitory and taking a stroll down the Brookwood road while the dew is still fresh on the grass. At eight o'clock all hands report for breakfast in the attractive, newly-decorated dining room, whether or not they have had their constitutional. As they enter the dining room they find awaiting them mimeographed copies of *The Safety Valve*, a daily paper, mainly humorous and interestingly illustrated with cartoons of the members of the Institute. The editors, including a locomotive fireman and a boilermaker, have been sitting up until the wee hours of the morning in order to get out this paper, which

frequently contributed to the hilarity of the members and guests of the Institute.

After breakfast groups went for a stroll or gathered on the veranda of the Main House, overlooking the beautiful valley in which nestles the little village of Katonah, for the discussion of more or less weighty problems. In one corner, for example, you may hear a general chairman on the Chesapeake and Ohio system explaining how it is the most wonderful railroad in the world, to a B. & O., a Canadian National and a New York Central man. One of his auditors innocently inquires whether it is true that the Chesapeake and Ohio runs downhill all the way!

Promptly at 9:30 Arthur Calhoun of the Brookwood faculty, who served as educational director of this summer's institutes, rings the bell and the stu-

dents gather to attend "class." The "teacher" this morning is Otto Beyer, Jr., consulting engineer of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. He is conducting a course outlining the history of railroading, organizations, management and financing of railroads, phases of government control, the history of the railroad labor unions, the development of union management, co-operation, etc. Toward the end of the week his "class" was conducted for a few sessions by George Soule of the Labor Bureau, who outlined the sources from which higher wages may be derived and the means by which organized labor may effectively tap those sources.

Pipes, Cigarettes and Discussion

One must not get a mistaken impression, however, from the use of the word "class." The railroad men in this "class" were not afraid to interrupt the "teacher" to ask questions, to cite illustrations from their own experience, either bearing out the teacher's contentions or seeming to throw doubt upon them. In several instances more sessions of the "class" were devoted to discussions by the members, interspersed with occasional comments by the "teacher."

At 10:45 the session is interrupted for fifteen minutes. In the meantime the morning mail has arrived and those who have received any hastily glance at its contents. Naturally everybody takes the opportunity to take up a pipe or a cigarette. Here and there groups are eagerly discussing the problem which has been placed before the class, or have the instructor in a corner and are trying to get further information from him.

At eleven o'clock Arthur Calhoun again rings the bell and the class reconvenes. Somewhere between 12:15 and 12:30 the morning session comes to an end and after the men have had another opportunity for a walk or for tossing about an indoor baseball or a medicine ball, they welcome the luncheon bell, at one o'clock.

A baseball game is scheduled for 2:30 in the afternoon. The battery on one side consists of the athletic Miss Clara Cook, assistant to Mr. Keating, the editor of *Labor*, as pitcher, and a machinist as catcher. The battery on the other side consists of a professor of labor problems as pitcher and a locomotive fireman as catcher. The boilermaker at bat succeeds in getting a healthy crack at the ball, only to have it caught in deep center field by Jimmy Thomas, the son of the well-known British railroad union leader, J. H. Thomas, who is at the present time connected with the office of the president of the Canadian National Railway.

The baseball game, the exact score of which is still in doubt, might have been followed by various groups going on automobile rides through the beautiful Westchester hills or Hudson River country, or by the more active ones supplementing baseball with a game of tennis. This afternoon, however, there is an extra speaker on and Mr. Whiting Williams, the well-known publicist, author of "What's on the Worker's Mind," recounts his experiences as a laborer in various industries, and advances the contention that security of employment plus the sense of working at something that is of service to society as a whole are the main drives in the industrial worker's mind.

After dinner at 6:30 the evening session convenes at eight o'clock. Donald Richberg, attorney for the railroad labor unions in many famous cases, delivers a masterly address, suggesting how labor's representatives may effectively present their case before grievance boards, in conference with management and before public or private boards of arbitration and conciliation.

"Education Will Help Unions"

On the opening night of the Railroad Labor Institute, Bert M. Jewell, head of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L., delivered the keynote address, in which he outlined the development of railroad unionism and suggested the problems confronting labor organization and railroad management at the present time. In concluding the address, which will be printed in full in the *Brookwood Review*, Mr. Jewell said: "Co-operation between management and employees, like all human progress, depends upon education and dissemination of facts. . . . As one of the essential pre-requisites to the further extension of collective bargaining, to the inauguration and natural development of this new spirit, this new policy, trade unionists must and they will attach a greater and greater value to education, and as rapidly as railroad workers and railroad management can educate themselves, gather and disseminate facts and be guided by them, just so rapidly will the preservation and advancement of our railroad industry, in which we railroad workers have invested our lives, be established and assured."

This first railroad labor institute ever held in the United States may yet prove to have been an epoch-making event. The Institute will doubtless become a permanent feature of the Brookwood summer program. The success of the experiment, in co-operation with the railroad labor unions, suggests the advisability of similar experiments with textile,

building trades, mining and other groups. It seems certain also that the inspiration and the ideas received by the representatives of the ten standard railroad labor unions who were at Brookwood this past summer will lead to the development of a substantial program of labor education in various railroad centers throughout the country.

The daily program of the General Labor Institute which was held during the second and third weeks of the month followed the same general lines as that of the Railroad Labor Institute. Those in attendance included representatives of the electrical workers, textile workers, motion picture operators, molders, railroad telegraphers, teachers, federal employees, garment workers, painters, carpenters, cap makers, lithographers, subway and tunnel constructors, machinists, miners and boilermakers. Some of these were officers, others active members of the rank and file.

"The Control of Wages"

At the morning sessions of the first week of the Institute a study was made of Hamilton and May's book on "The Control of Wages." During the second week the history of the war and post-war period was studied from a labor viewpoint, the problems discussed including the trend of real wages during the period, the trend of unionism, important industrial struggles, efforts of labor on the political field, international relations of the A. F. of L., as expressed for example in the relation of the A. F. of L. toward the Mexican labor movement and the recent pronouncement of President Green on the situation in China.

At the evening sessions Professor Illtyd David of the University of Wales, a prominent figure in the British workers' education movement, Robert Fechner of the General Executive Board of the Machinists, F. M. O'Hanlon, secretary-treasurer and legislative representative of the New York State Federation of Labor, A. Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, L. D. Wood of Philadelphia, expert adviser to Matthew Woll, chairman of the A. F. of L. committee on life insurance, Ben Selekmán of the Research Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, and Robert W. Bruere of the *Survey*, introduced discussions on such subjects as the British labor movement and workers' education, railroad union organization in Cuba, labor legislative activities, union labor and life insurance, the company unions and giant power.

Several things seem to be clearly brought out by Brookwood's experiments with summer sessions. For one thing it is evident that trade unionists at least in considerable numbers are deeply and genuinely in-

terested in getting the practical education that will pretty directly help them to be more intelligent and efficient members of their organizations. They like to "talk shop" with fellow workers from other parts of the country or from other industries and with students of economic and labor problems who have given thought to the theoretical aspects of the matters in which labor is interested.

Renewing Inspiration

It is also evident that an increasing number of trade union officials desire the development of education of this sort and are willing to assist in such development. In connection with the Railroad Labor Institute, Brookwood had the enthusiastic assistance of Bert M. Jewell, Railway Employees Department head, as well as of the editors of a considerable number of the official railroad labor journals. In connection with the General Labor Institute Brookwood had the assistance of a committee representing organizations as varied as: the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Printing Pressmen's Union, the New York Council of the International Brotherhood of Painters, Paper Hangers and Decorators, the Women's Trade Union League, the Amalgamated Association of Lithographers, the International Furriers' Union, the Upholsterers' Union of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

It would seem also that summer schools may furnish an opportunity to those who as organizers or teachers are doing the actual work of the workers' education movement throughout the country to get together in order to compare notes and have their inspiration and enthusiasm renewed. Many of these people, whether teachers or trade unionists, cannot get away from their localities at any time except during the summer. No movement can succeed, however, especially in its early experimental stages, unless those who are engaged in the work have an opportunity to check up on each other's experiences. This opportunity the summer school would seem to afford to a great many. During August there were at Brookwood representatives of workers' education enterprises in Baltimore, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., New York City, Salem, Mass., Sub-District 5 of the United Mine Workers in Illinois, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and representatives of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Stirred by this success, Brookwood is already beginning preparations for carrying on summer sessions on a more extensive scale next year.

Hello, Europe!

On Happenings in the Heart of "Red Saxony"

By PHILIP ZAUSNER



WORK OF THE PAINTING GUILD
House Erected by the Building Co-operatives of Hamburg

INDEPENDENCE DAY—and Dresden, the heart of "Red Saxony."

The city was a delightful scene from the distance. There it lay in the valley of the Elbe—its spires, cupolas and palace roofs rising on both banks of the river.

There was none of the noise of the American Fourth of July to greet me. "How far from America am I," thought I, looking down on the "German Florence." There—in the Old City and the New, into which the Saxon capital is divided—were memories of kings and kingly quarrels, seen in landmarks and statuary.

But time and space are not so far apart today. Only a few days before I had traveled by aeroplane to a painters' meeting—covering with ease the 160 miles between Cracow and Lemberg. Ideas are traveling fast, too; ideas of political and industrial democracy.

This soon dawned on me when I visited the "Volkhaus"—the People's House or Labor Temple—in which the painters' local is housed. In front of it I saw gathered a mass of people in working clothes, many of them walking their bicycles along with them. There seemed to be something doing for they were

all talking and gesticulating, and I soon learned that the masons and carpenters throughout Saxony were on strike, involving from 5,000 to 6,000 men in Dresden alone, and that these were some of the strikers. So I was not so far from America after all. The Brotherhood of the Workers extends beyond national boundaries and through racial division lines.

When attending the German Painters' National Congress two days later and the Fourth International Conference of National and International Organizations (opening July 11th), this fact was further borne in upon me.

German Painters Advance

Despite Communist disruption and the "hard times" of the post-war period, the German painters have made progress. They have brought their conditions up to the level of the other building trades, whereas in pre-war days painters got from 10 to 20 per cent. less than the other skilled mechanics in the industry.

These achievements can only be appreciated when we realize that at one time more than 80 per cent. of the membership were unemployed. This necessitated the dismissal of a large part of the permanent offi-

cials of the union and an almost complete shut-down of the organization's activities. The funds of the organization, which only recently were entirely depleted, have recovered remarkably. For a time the Union had to depend largely upon the assistance of its sister-unions abroad. But now it is in process of repaying the sums it received—which it has always looked upon as loans rather than as donations—and is even, in turn, lending a helping hand to the trade union movement in neighboring countries. At the same time, it is accumulating a surplus for its own needs, which at the time of the Convention had already reached 650,000 gold marks (\$160,000). It has also resumed payment of unemployment benefits.

This recovery would, of course, not have been possible without the great improvement in trade conditions which took place during the past twelve months. Skilled mechanics are scarce, due mainly to the fact that few apprentices were trained during recent years. A large number of unskilled workers have crept into the industry, and the Union is now conducting an intensive organizing campaign to get them within their ranks. The success of German unions, in general, in organizing the unskilled is due to their policy of making it as easy as possible for everyone to join. They believe that it is a simple matter to make a good trade unionist of any man, once he is a member of an organized group.

The German Painters' Union has a membership of 43,000, representing about 60 per cent. of the entire trade in the country. The eight-hour day is generally established in the industry, though here and there in certain branches somewhat longer hours prevail. Wages vary from 70 pfennigs to 1¼ marks per hour (17 to 30 cents). Overtime ranges from 25 to 100 per cent. above regular rates. Annual earnings at these rates under present conditions of employment yield from 1,200 to 2,000 marks, equivalent to from \$300 to \$500.

The Union makes no contracts with individual employers but has a national agreement with the Master Painters' organization and, in addition, supplementary local contracts. Industrial disputes are settled by appeal to the joint board of arbitration or to an arbitration court presided over by an impartial chairman. The open shop generally prevails and the employers have the unrestricted right to discharge. There are no quantity standards of production in force.

"Amalgamation" was one of the chief subjects up for consideration at the gathering. Industrial unionism is strong in the German Labor Movement, perhaps more so than in many other countries. The painters as a rule are opposed to it, because they are not certain that it will benefit them or their craft. Brother Graf of Switzerland, an ardent amalga-

tionist for some time back, is now inclined to think that it had better not be pressed too rapidly. Amalgamation of the Swiss painters with other building trades has not brought an increase in membership or advanced conditions, but rather the reverse.

At any rate, industrial unionism is not a cure-all. The proposal for building trades amalgamation had recently been voted down by the painters' membership on referendum. The Convention itself went on record favoring affiliation in the Building Trades Federation, rather than out-and-out amalgamation. At least, for the immediate future.

Against White Lead

At the International Conference, one of the chief things dwelt on was the battle against industrial disease. The work of our Workers' Health Bureau was discussed. It developed that the use of white lead has been greatly reduced in most European countries and even in America. The comparatively high price of the material has something to do with this turn for the better.

Austria reported prohibiting the use of substitutes of turpentine and benzol products.

Germany, Switzerland and Austria reported that occupational diseases are now recognized by the laws of these countries under the industrial compensation law.

The decision of the International Labor Conference in Geneva, 1921, prohibiting the use of white lead for interiors, was discussed, and it was reported that eight countries have thus far ratified this decision. The Government of Switzerland was presented with a resolution of the Swiss Trade Union Federation on June 9, 1925, demanding the ratification of the Geneva Resolution with reference to that question.

A written report from the Belgian Organization which dealt particularly with the white lead question was read. It was resolved that the International Conference and all its affiliated organizations prosecute a movement for the ratification of the Geneva Resolution and that the affiliated organizations propose in the legislatures of their respective countries such ratification at the earliest possible moment.

My time in Dresden and this attendance at the two conventions were but the crowning events of a pleasant tour of Europe. Good fortune took me from the Paris of the Louvre and Versailles—where I met Jean Longuet, the grandson of Karl Marx, and learned that the Parisian painters were but 10 per cent. organized, with an open shop prevailing; through Zurich, Switzerland—with its famous Co-operative Society, selling all manner of foodstuffs, clothing and house furnishings, in real American fashion; to Vienna, with its municipal housing, and its exhaustive health studies and war against venereal diseases, alcohol and tuberculosis; to Lemberg,

Poland, my own birthplace and city of childhood memories; to Berlin, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Manchester, the seat of British painters.

An Austrian K. K. K. and a General Strike

You will, I am sure, be interested to learn that Austria and Germany have an organization equivalent to our Ku Klux Klan. It is called the "Hakenkreuzler" and is composed largely of elements with monarchistic and militaristic leanings and of the nationalist malcontents in general. Opposed to it is the "Republikanische Schutzbund," Republican Defense Alliance, also known as the "Arbeiter Ordner," Worker's Sergeant at Arms, which aims to protect workers and democratic organizations against attacks of any kind. Every second worker is said to belong to the Alliance which is distinguished by a uniform.

You will also be interested to learn of my presence as an onlooker at a general strike demonstration in Lemberg, on June 23rd. It had been called to direct the attention of the powers that be to the "unbearable conditions of employment, starvation and utter desperation of the working masses."

Immediately after cessation of work at 10 a. m., masses of working men and women began pouring into the "Rynek," the main square of the town, and from there into the huge square inside the City Hall building. In less than half an hour, the square, all neighboring side streets and the courtyard were filled with people. The speakers who addressed this tremendous gathering pointed out the disregard and indifference shown by the Polish Government to the sufferings of the workers. Several weeks prior to this event the Government had solemnly promised to invest in building operations 100,000,000 zloties—\$20,000,000—of the money borrowed from America, so as to relieve the terrible housing shortage and at the same time provide work for the thousands of hungry, ragged and homeless mechanics. Now it was charged that the money loaned by America for the specific purpose of home building was being used by the Government for remodelling armories, churches and non-essential public buildings. They accused the authorities of selling the rich crops of the country to foreign speculators while the Polish people were starving for want of a crust of bread. They asserted that it was the policy of the administration to sow dissension between Jews and Gentiles, Ukrainians and Poles, thus keeping the workers busy fighting amongst themselves and distracting their attention from the corruption and mismanagement of the Polish regime. They stated, too, that the Government tolerated violations of the 46-hour working week whenever this was to the interest of the great capitalistic enterprises.

The crowd cheered wildly and angrily cried "shame" each time the Government was mentioned. In the midst of an impassioned address by a young speaker who seemed to have hypnotized the masses, suddenly there arose a chorus of a thousand voices singing the "Szandar." These were the railroad workers who in military formation marched into the yard, leaving street cars and railroads at a standstill. The crowd joined the singing, and it was quite a while before the cheering and outcries of "Long Live the Railroaders" had subsided.

Resolutions were passed, calling for an end of the "maddening hunger" cursing the working class. Thereupon, the crowd determined to bring the resolution in person to the Governor, over the protest of those in charge of the demonstration. The mass surged toward the Government Building, but were halted by the police. Stones, bricks and other missiles were hailed on the police, five of whom were injured before the crowds were dispersed.

Hamburg's Painting Guild

Everywhere in Central Europe I found a fairy-tale view of conditions in America. They think that there is no unemployment here, that we are crying for mechanics and that if they could only get over here, all would be well.

At Hamburg I got a glimpse of the Painters' Guild, which is doing a remarkable work.

It is one of the largest painting and decorating guilds in Europe. It took me more than an hour to look over its offices, shops, stock room, studio, garage and store rooms. The Guild is a stock company operating under the corporate laws of Germany. According to its by-laws, only trade unions and co-operative organizations sympathetic to organized labor can be stockholders. The volume of business done by the Guild last year was nearly 300,000 gold marks, somewhat less than \$75,000. This income resulted from 470 contracts, of which 157 were performed for the municipal and federal government, 153 for social institutions and 160 for private individuals or enterprises.

Although it pays all its employees wages 5 per cent. above existing standards in the city and allows them six days' vacation with pay—twice as much as that given by private employers—and although it provides the men with free working clothes and such facilities as towels, soap and nailbrushes—the Guild nevertheless earned a net profit of more than \$2,500 for the year, above all expenses including overhead and interest on invested capital. About 200 men were at work at the height of the season. In addition, the Guild employs two designers who are constantly engaged making sketches for interior and exterior work, an estimator, a walking foreman, a general and assistant manager as well as the neces-

WHERE WORKERS DO THE WHOLE JOB



Headquarters of Berlin Painting Guild and Some of Its Staff

AMONG the "wonders" seen by Brother Zausner in Europe were the Building Guilds, and particularly the Painters' Guilds. A convention of the co-operative painting guilds took place immediately following the German Painters' Convention.

Started as one wing of the attack on the Profit System, these guilds have not prospered as well as has the consumers' co-operative movement. The desire for gain is still too strong, and many of them finally become private building enterprises. But Brother Zausner thinks, nevertheless, that these guilds will eventually spread far and wide—not only in Germany but in all Europe—where much has already been accomplished, even with the inevitable drawbacks of the experimental stage. That means, in a nutshell, that the workers will more and more do the job themselves now done by the Individual Boss or the Company.

sary clerical staff. It has a reputation for good work and reasonable charges.

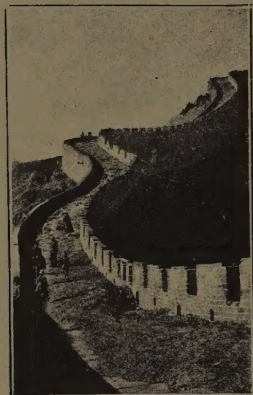
Such are a few scattering views of the things I saw and heard. All in all, the European workers are more class-conscious than our brothers of America. They are more determined on working-class political action. But on the whole their problems and the

position of their movement are much the same as our own. With the radio and the aeroplane, with the quickening of international communication everywhere, the international understanding and unity between the workers of all countries is more needed than ever before. And more likely too, to come to pass!

The Chinese Want to be Men

Murmurings—In the Land of the Great Wall

By JOHN W. BROWN



I. EAST AND WEST

HE shambled along the "streets" of the city, carrying a load of goods on his back. To and fro went other men, with poles slung across their shoulders, the ends weighted down with merchandise.

It might be rice, coming in from the villages scattered thinly on the wide plains. Or it might be cotton, the clothes for common wear; or silk, the attire of luxury.

He stumbled from "street" to "street," until he came to the river. There his goods were deposited for transportation to the next large city. No roads lay outside the towns, and no wheeled traffic was to be seen.

The cloth which he or his fellows carried, was made in homes, by the combined labor of the family. There was no fixed wage, but bargaining from day to day.

His girl child was unwanted. Religious belief dictated that no woman would win immortality unless she had given birth to a male. Unwanted girl babies were thrown outside the city gates; or later on, handed out as domestic drudges or to houses of prostitution.

To this Chinese worker and his masters came the "barbarians" in the beginning of the last century. The wares which the Westerners offered, the Chinese Emperor politely refused to allow to enter his Empire. They could not compare, he said, with the fine products of China. Only a childish people could think of European manufactures as worthy of a mature nation.

Forcing Trade—With the Gun

Unfortunately, the Western European races—particularly England—would not take this for an answer. They insisted in forcing their trade on China. What was worse, England chose for her principal export the surplus opium export of India. When the Chinese tried to stop this, in 1840, the British went to war with them. Since the one thing in which the Occident had outstripped the Orient was science—in war, industry and medicine—the British cannon soon made short work of the Chinese military defenses.

Hong Kong—the island city "of sweet lagoons"—was given to the conquerors, and five so-called Treaty Ports were opened up, where the English were joined by France, America and Scandinavia.

From then on, every small incident was taken advantage of to force further and further concessions from the helpless Chinese. The foreigners came to exploit China—her natural resources and her countless laborers. The unwanted girl child was a choice morsel for the European, who had crossed two oceans to grow fat in paunch and pocketbook. The American and Japanese, no less, saw the opportunity for getting great masses of workers at unbelievably low wages, under any sort of conditions of labor.

The first employment of Chinese labor was naturally in domestic service, out-door and in-door. In each case men were used almost exclusively. Later, married Europeans were able to engage women nurses for their children; also sewing-women.

Then there were the laborers employed by the settlements or concessions for street and park-tending, sedan-chair carrying or rickshaw pulling. A further stage was the enlistment of Chinese labor in the police services.

The first employment of Chinese labor in industrial enterprises was on transport and communications. The steamboat and the railway train were successively introduced into China for the purpose of improving trade facilities. Docks, warehouses and railway stations and lines also, had to be constructed. For all these enterprises Chinese laborers were employed, and they are now employed also in such municipal enterprises as water, gas and electric light supplies. A telegram from China to one of the English papers recently naively remarked that "not

even the most humble European" ever did menial work in China.

Minerals have been worked on a small scale in China for thousands of years, and it is certain that her mineral resources are both rich and extensive. While this is one of the reasons for the greed of the western powers and their strife for concessions, they have not done a great deal yet in mineral development. One reason for this is, that it would mean either living in conditions of more equality with the Chinese than in the Treaty ports, or finding a political excuse for obtaining the power to fortify the iron and coal mines as they now fortify the ports. Hankow is the centre of what has been done in iron and coal exploitation.

Textiles, a Fruitful Field

Textiles, on the other hand, offered a fruitful field for industrial enterprise within the settlements. The western capitalists did not import manufactured cotton textiles to exchange with Chinese goods. Instead they imported machinery for cotton and silk factories for themselves and for sale to Chinese manufacturers in the same field. But though the foreign manufacturers imported machinery of the latest pattern, they did not build their factories on lines that would have allowed them to be passed by a borough surveyor or a factory inspector in Europe. When taxed with building factories of a type that experience has shown to have a bad effect on the health of the workers, they hide behind the fact that their Chinese imitators have built factories with even smaller and fewer windows.

This is, in many cases, true. It is, however, beside the point. The Europeans knew how factories ought to be built, whereas the Chinese were new to the job.

While introducing factories into China, the foreigners continued to act as middle-men between the producers in China and consumers in England, and vice versa. Even now, there are only very few native companies that trade direct with England. Further the foreigners have their own finance and exchange system: "The Consortium" of such banks as those of Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Seeing that the foreign manufacturer paid no heed to home standards in building his factory, it can be taken for granted that he took full advantage of the ignorance of the Chinese workers and rather lowered than raised their standard of life by employing them. As has been stated, the majority of Chinese workers in pre-industrial times had worked in family groups. These groups had been accustomed to work off and on throughout the day and to share communal meals. Probably only the head of the group had had much handling of money. When the foremen appointed by the factory managements wanted hands, they could, consequently, easily en-

gage a whole family. Or, perhaps, the men would go to the municipal undertakings; their wives and children to the textile factories. They soon found, however, that twelve hours work at home is one thing, and twelve hours in a factory is another.

The civil wars that have raged in China during the years of growing industrialism, made it easy to obtain native labor. Particularly, labor from the villages. The dwellers in villages, ravaged by armies, will either come themselves or send their children into the towns with the idea of safety and food. With this constant supply, day and night work was introduced. Most of the factories, both Chinese and foreign, today work with two twelve-hour shifts. Of the adult labor recruited from rural districts, some comes in for part of the year only.

Actual details on existing conditions come to us only from foreign missionaries, consuls and manufacturing interests. Their value is probably in the order given, reports by missionaries being on the whole the most free from self-interest. There is no newspaper in China published in English or any other European language, except those devoted to foreign interests. The telegrams sent to the European press are also from capitalist sources.

Girl Workers in Silk

On the whole, conditions seem to be worse in the silk "mills" and most of the statements about conditions recently appearing in the western papers refer to those. Here nearly all the employees are women and young girls, from six years of age upwards.

Some of the children come with their mothers. Others are bought or hired from their parents in town or village, in which case they remain the whole time in the factory.

Adults and children work two shifts of twelve hours each. But the children have to begin work before the women, as they must provide the women with cocoons stripped for winding. The stripping has to be done by holding the cocoons in steam from boiling water, which the children's hands nearly touch. The basins are usually placed too high for the children to sit to their work, and the steam makes the atmosphere extremely hot and humid. In a Chinese factory an experiment has been made in boiling the cocoons and then cooling them in cold water before stripping. The work with the boilers is done by boys of sixteen, and the children handle only the cooled cocoons. But this is very exceptional. One hour in the middle of the day is allowed for a meal, and usually one shift is stopped at the weekend. Sometimes wages are not paid direct to the workers at all but to a contractor.

In cotton mills children are also employed from the age of six upwards, and again women and chil-

HOW ROCKEFELLER WORKS IT

NOW we hear that the coal miners of Southern Colorado have "asked" for a wage cut. According to President Wellborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, they requested the company to reduce their incomes. In order, doubtless, that John D., Jr., might not starve to death in those three or four mansions of millions of dollars' value each, which he recently purchased from his father!

Such are the mysterious ways of the "company union." What is a 15 per cent. cut to those coal diggers beyond Denver, who merely risk their lives every day for John D.'s sweet sake? Is it the good will of the Rockefeller Plan that has sugared their souls, or is the memory of Bloody Ludlow something that has made cowards of them all?

After reading the impartial report of the Russell Sage Foundation on the working of the Rockefeller company union plan, as made by Mary Van Kleeck and Ben Selekman, we regard the latter as the correct surmise. The miners have no final confidence in the plan. They always turn to the union for fundamental protection. As the report on the Plan says:

dren predominate. Here the physical disadvantage is not damp—but dry and dusty heat. According to the Consul-General of Shanghai, there are in that city 66 local cotton mills, of which 33 are owned by Japanese and five by British companies. In the Chinese mills one 14-hour shift is worked without intervals; in the Japanese, two 12-hour shifts with one interval of 30 minutes and one of 15; and in the British two 12-hour shifts each, with one interval of 15 minutes.

In the textile mills the general level of health is very low. There is a large amount of disease, particularly tubercular. Many children die after a few years of the work. The wages paid are almost always insufficient—even when a whole family works, to keep it above the poverty line.

Other industrial enterprises employing large numbers of women and young children are match factories. Here white phosphorus is largely used without any precautions against poisoning or fire.

While it is a fact that Chinese employers are implicated in child labor, in Shanghai the percentage of the employees in Chinese factories under 12 years of age was 18, against 15.9 in American, 17 in British, 46 in Italian and 47 in French-factories.

Pekin Tries Legislation

Social legislation is practically non-existent in China. There is no unemployment, health or accident insurance system, or any regulation of employment.

In 1923 the Northern Government in Pekin, through its Minister of Agriculture and Commerce,

"They realize that they need the protection of representatives outside the company which employs them, because they have discovered that men employed in the company are impotent to protect themselves or others. The fear of losing a job prevents a man from opposing a company which gives, and can take away, his job. It follows that employees' representation as it has been interpreted in this one company, has had little contribution to make to the processes by which standards for the industry as a whole are formulated."

Under the Rockefeller Plan, all representatives of the workers are paid by the company when attending conferences, the only trained men they deal with are company-paid officials, the elections and conferences are called by the company's president on company property—to which a union would be denied admittance. Willy nilly, it is little wonder that the men vote themselves a wage cut. The only information at their disposal is company-propaganda. The only men to "aid" them are company-owned men.

issued a set of Provisional Factory Regulations. These were to apply to all factories employing more than 100 workers and those smaller ones where dangerous or injurious processes were employed. It was boldly stated that they were applicable to foreign factories in Chinese territory and they were sent with identical notes to the members of the diplomatic body in March, 1924. The diplomats "decided to return no reply."

Among the regulations were those prohibiting the employment of girls under 12 or boys under 10, restricting the labor of boys under 17 and girls under 18, who are not allowed to do dangerous work or work at night, and whose working hours are limited to eight per day, with three whole days per month free. Working hours for adults are restricted to ten per day, with two whole days per month free. One or more daily rest periods of not less than one hour are provided, and not more than ten days are allowed on a night shift. Wages must be paid in cash and at least once a month. Overtime must be paid for, and no deductions may be made for savings or other funds without the consent of the worker and approval of "the administrative authorities concerned." Provision is also made for compensation in case of sickness or death of workers, for women workers in child-birth, for sanitary requirements, for the appointment of superintendents and for the provision of education for juveniles and uneducated workers.

(To be concluded)

BEWARE!

HAB ACHT!



SO WIRST DU BLEIKRANK

Die Arbeiter dürfen erst dann Speisen und Getränke zu sich nehmen oder die Arbeitsstätte verlassen, wenn sie zuvor die Arbeitskleider abgelegt und die Hände mit Seife und Bürste gründlich gewaschen haben. Einer sorgfältigen Reinigung bedürfen auch das Gesicht und besonders der Bart, wenn sie während der Arbeit beschmutzt worden sind.

(Malerblatt vom 27. Januar 1920, Reichsgesetzblatt S. 118.)

Educational Poster of German Painters in Their Fight on White Lead

(Note Brother Zausner's Article)

Teaching the Young Idea

"How to Shoot"—and Read the Bryan Bible

By BILL BROWN, BOOMER

DO you remember, friends, the songs you used to sing?

Let's see: there was "School Days, School Days, Dear Old Golden Rule Days." Gee, non-glycerine tears well to my eyes at the mention of those there words. Then, that pathetic national anthem: "I Did Not Raise My Boy to be a Soldier." Today it has been revised, edited and changed—to "I Did Not Raise My Boy to be a Worker."

In this city of Pittsburgh—where I still manage to hang out, being sort of tough-like—and throughout this great land of Bootleggers and Fundamentalists, the little children are everywhere bounding off to school. Al Jolson's "Sweet September" has come, and with it the big building with the auditorium, the drill that would make Kaiser Wilhelm wonder why he hadn't learned it better, the salute to the American flag and the reading of the King James version of the Bible.

Those kids are being made into fancy clerks, you bet. Know how to read yards and yards mechanically, by heart; know how to write fine, free-hand penmanship; but know nothing about thinking or freedom of any mental kind. Now, that's quite a speech for me, but I'm all "het up" about it.

What a smile old King George III. must have up there on his heavenly throne, as he looks down on his once "rebellious provinces." "By Jove," utters he, or "Mein Gott" is more like it. "What experts those business men are at making little Goose-steppers out of those little free Americans. I've beat out Tom Jefferson anyway."

An idiotic young fellow killed a little girl the other day in Montclair. He was plumb insane (as anyone who goes to Jersey is likely to become), but he knew how to use a gun. He'd been a model Boy Scout, they said, for him. Well, I'm not surprised. A model student today and a model child is a model driller and guntoter. They're drilling them to kill—and then, they're surprised when they go out and practise in peace time. Judge Gary, he makes the steel for the bullets and the guns and then gets excited and forms a Crime Commission—to restrict the crime commission to "legal crimes" only.

And that there reminds me of a sign which hung for years over a shooting gallery on Fourteenth

Street in New York City. It read: "*Be a Patriot. Learn to Shoot.*" Now, what do you think of that? Patriotism was shooting. That's what they tell them in the schools now. So that old saying, "Teaching the Young Idea How to Shoot," has more truth than poetry in it, in its modern version.

Then, our youth is going to learn more and more, you can bet. There's quite a batch of states which make it compulsory for the teacher, not only to drill them in "Shooting Patriotism" but in Bible reading. Every school-day morning this beautiful and touching scene takes place: In their seats sit the little pupils, all trying hard not to think. (Thinking gives them a bad mark, you understand.) Then, up jumps the teacher, stiff as a poker and looking like a Major-General. "Salute the Flag." All the little pupils salute like good little Prussians used to do.

Then, out comes the Bible—the King James Version! Now, some of those there children may think that the Latin Vulgate and the Douai version are a darn sight better. Some of the others may have a sneaking idea that only the Old Testament is the "thing" (certainly, the little Hebrews do.) Then, another some may imagine kind-of, that the whole thing is a fairy tale. But that don't matter. The King James Version has become part of the Constitution. "Swallow it whole, or you're not an American. You ought to get out and be shot."

Now this here King James I., after whom the Bible is named, was nothing like an American like Tom Jefferson wanted, and like we used to think was the real stuff. He was strong for the crown, his crown. And it's kind of funny to see Americans running after the "king" stuff, even in Bibles. Take your choice, of course—no kick coming there—but lay off making all the rest of us swallow it. That's me!

Now, Mr. Bryan is dead—and he was a good man, though he didn't know much. But I'll be jiggered if I let him do my thinking for me. And if I was a kid I wouldn't want anybody to do my thinking, either. And I wouldn't want to be put through a drill and taught all about killing other people. No, sirree. But now, maybe, that's why I don't amount to so much, you understand. Maybe the Great and Good would think better for me—like they do for

HOW NOT TO GROW OLD

Be Killed Off by the "New Hazards of Industry!"

MR. WORKER, are you a fool?

We are sure you are not—but the Employing Interests take you for one.

Just to prove it, they are now exposing you to dangers that sap your life almost without your knowing it. Talk about poison gas in warfare! We have poisons equally as deadly doing their work of devastation at this very hour in "peace-time."

This is not the harangue of an agitator. Medical authorities are the source of our information. One example: Dr. Francis V. Murphy, Industrial Health Inspector of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, exposes the "new hazards of industry," in an article under that title in the August LABOR REVIEW (U. S. Department of Labor).

Menace No. 1 to the worker is the increasing use of the spray gun. The painters, already killed off like flies by the use of lead in their occupation, have to contend with this instrument of death. For the employers, it is hunky-dory. One operator with the gun can do the work of three to five hand-workers. For the men who use it, it is a "menace to health." "The splashing and splattering of liquid poisons make it difficult to protect the operator even with a well-fitting mask."

The union painters, with the expert co-operation of the Workers' Health Bureau, are leveling an attack on the use of the spray gun in every state possible. Union Labor everywhere should aid them in this Battle against Death.

Automobiles are paid for, too, in injury to their makers. Folks want smooth and durable and glossy coatings for their cars. Presto: they are given such, a poisonous combination which brings intense catarrhal infections of the throat and nose and eyes to the automobile "painter."

That is only the beginning. Skin inflammations arise from handling gasoline and cutting oils and in other processes. Headache and depression come from inhaling exhaust motor gases. Lead poisoning from sandpapering the primary white coat, and eye diseases from the bright light in welding are part of the inventory of diseases which the automobile has introduced.

Brass foundry workers are up against it from the

poisons in copper dust; brass buffers and copper-smiths are in the same boat. Loss of hearing is progressively on the increase, among boilermakers, forgemen, blacksmiths and men operating sledge hammers and riveting machines in particular.

Benzol—widespread in use since the War—is carrying its message of destruction to rubber workers, painters, workers in motor fuels, photo-engravers and millinery workers.

All in all, 3,000,000 persons are ill in the United States at all times, according to a federal report quoted by Dr. Murphy. Through this means, the worker loses an average of nine days per year—and 42 per cent. of this loss is preventable!

What will stop this? Personal cleanliness, well-ventilated and sanitary workshops, suitable caps, gloves and clothing in handling poisonous chemicals; and also lockers, shower baths, washrooms, clean towels, pure drinking water, separate lunch rooms, frequent medical examination and trained nurses and first aid apparatus on the job. Do those conditions exist in most workshops? They do not. It is up to the workers to force the employers to secure them. Otherwise, it is years of sickness and "the Sweet Bye-and Bye" ahead of time for you.

Too much praise cannot be given the Workers' Health Bureau for the pioneering fight it has made for these decencies in the workshop. Since its organization to help union labor, it has not let up in its scientific and aggressive battle for health.

Tetra Ethyl Lead is one of the foes which we have to contend with, the Bureau informs us. It has not been so long ago since several hundred workmen fell over at their task in the Standard Oil Company's plant at Bayonne, N. J. Screaming headlines filled the papers. "Loony Gas," as Tetra Ethyl gasoline was popularly called, was bowling men over as though they were engaged in battle. At least 11 workers have been killed and 113 more knocked out by this mixture in the last seventeen months.

"The time has come," it rightly says, "for Organized Labor to demand investigation and control of all poisons used in industry before, not after, workers pay the price with their lives."

Little Cal in the White House. Just look where he got, through *not thinking*.

So, I guess we better just throw our thinking caps away. And look up kind of reverent-like and thankful and not-too-smart, and sing till our lungs bust:

"God save King James—and King Morgan and King Rockefeller." And let's teach the little kiddies that, and to be good men and women (lots of sobs here) and to grow up like Little Cal—talkless and brainless and liberty-less.

AWAKE TO YOUR RIGHTS !



The Way the Dutch Painters Carry on their Organization Drive—Some Poster!

New Paths

In the Workers' Education Movement

By FANNIA M. COHN



CHILDREN, TOO

Although not mentioned here by Miss Cohn, Labor is also interesting itself in Child Education—at Manumit School and in Pioneer Youth. Read here of the great advance in the Workers' Education field—an inspiring picture!

THE movement for Workers' Education in the United States is of comparatively recent origin.

Like many other movements, it has had the sad fate of being misunderstood by many—over-estimated by some, under-estimated by others. Every group has offered its own interpretation of it. The onlooker has been bewildered in his effort to define its policies, aims, and objects.

Many individuals who confess that they possessed an enthusiasm for the movement at its inception a few years ago, express their growing discouragement about its future at present. In their pessimism they have become crusaders against it, and in their efforts to uncover its futility and "tear it down," they have used tens of thousands of words in defining what they discovered real workers' education to be. The average reader of these polemics loses himself in the underbrush of beautiful phrases, but a diligent reader will separate the phraseology from the "meaning" and the practical suggestions made. Then, if he is in doubt, he will make a study of the aims and objects of the founders of the Workers' Education movement who are still influential in it, and of their literature, and will discover that the new point of view of these crusaders lies in an objection to the presentation of the subject matter rather than to its substance.

The aims of the workers' education movement have always been clear. The pioneers of this movement

have always emphasized that it had a double meaning: a collective and an individual one. While it does offer the worker as an individual an opportunity to develop his personality and character and acquaint himself with the world he lives in, they feel that its particular aim lies in making him more effective in his group, thus strengthening the workers' organization. It aims, first, to interest him in the industry in which he is engaged, with its productive processes, its technique of craftsmanship, its specific economic problems and the various suggestions made for their solution, the relation of his industry to other kindred industries, and the place it occupies in our economic and social structure.

Beyond the Classroom

They further desired to interest the workers in their trade unions, in the aims, problems and policies of these unions; to make them conscious of their responsibilities as citizens of an industrial organization, and the place it offers them in our industrial society.

The founders of the Workers' Education movement, who were trade unionists themselves, were always conscious of the fact that the real workers' college is the trade union. It is there the worker learns of economic and social problems; it is there he learns how to solve them. These founders always emphasized in their literature that it is at the trade

union assembly, whether shop meeting, general meeting, or convention, that he gets his real schooling. They held, further, in their various writings on workers' education, that all the education given must be co-ordinated with the interests of the trade union; that workers' education cannot be called such if it is carried on abstractly.

Some individuals mistakenly confine workers' education to the classroom alone, and judge it by the number of students enrolled in the class. The influence of workers' education, however, goes far beyond the classroom. It is reflected in trade union publications, in the discussions at trade union meetings, at conventions and in the meetings of the executive councils. As a consequence of this movement, many books and pamphlets have been written on trade union problems, policies and tactics.

At the beginning, indeed, workers' education was confined largely to the classroom. It has, however, at present broadened its old scope and entered into many new activities. While the classroom has not declined in importance, new phases of the work have been entered upon. Through the influence of the workers' education movement, labor has become more self-conscious, begun to study its history and formulate its aims. The needs of the classroom have called for greater articulateness on all these subjects, so books and pamphlets have been written on them. The workers' education movement is being used more and more by trade unions to interest more of their membership, and to bring into understanding of their aims the wives and children of their members. Another new development has been in the direction of getting more individuals at the classes and conferences held—chiefly through summer sessions and chautauquas. The labor movement, recognizing the value of all these new developments has undertaken official support of the workers' education movement, by urging all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to pay affiliation dues to the Workers' Education Bureau.

The Labor Movement in the first place, is becoming aware of the necessity for a greater self-consciousness. It is finding it daily of greater importance to stand apart from itself and survey its work, its aims, and its achievements. The Workers' Education movement has, in the past, and will, to an even greater extent in the future, contribute to that desire for self-appraisal which is of such great value to trade unions everywhere. The growing articulateness of the Labor Movement, which is merely the overt expression of this desire to understand itself and is revealed in the publications, books and magazines of the trade unions is largely indebted to the Workers' Education movement, since studies in the classroom created a necessity for such publications.

The Workers' Education movement is stimulating that new interest on the part of trade unionists in the aims, problems and policies of its trade unions, which were formerly studied chiefly by teachers and students of the labor movement. Through this influence, Labor is beginning to realize that it is far behind commerce and industry in capitalizing its experience. It is beginning to appreciate the fact that the pioneers who laid the foundations of our Labor Movement are gradually disappearing and new men and women taking their place. If these leaders are to be effective, the benefit of the experience accumulated by their predecessors must be placed at their disposal. They need histories of trade unions, memoirs of trade union leaders. Already a tendency is at work in that direction. The Workers' Education movement does and will, still more in the future, stimulate an interest in writing the histories of our trade unions—so rich in experience and achievement.

Need for Expression

That same growing need for articulateness is manifested in the field of trade union aims also. In the past, some of our trade unionists were satisfied to reject certain suggestions on the ground that they were against the trade union principles, policies or tactics of the American Federation of Labor. Many of them, however, were not in a position to state the basis for these policies, tactics and principles, because no material to formulate their position was at hand. Now, through the influence of the Workers' Education movement, the Labor Movement is beginning to realize the necessity for the formulation of such theories so that in the future its contentions may be based not on assumptions, but on basic principles.

Not all union leaders are aware of the work being done by the Workers' Education Bureau towards expressing the aims of the Labor Movement more clearly, but all feel the need for such expression. Only the other day, a prominent trade union leader complained before an audience that the history of the American Labor Movement has not as yet been written. I called his attention to the fact that the Workers' Education Bureau, at its last convention, went on record urging that such a history be written.

Another new development of the work of the Workers' Education movement lies in the direction of arousing the interest of more workers in their organization. Many in the Labor Movement realize that by so broadening the scope of the movement, more and more workers can be interested in their organization. The trade union is up against the same problem that confronts every social institution; its large membership will not engage actively in the affairs of the union. For the union has become a complicated social institution; its functions are more

specialized and its existence more secure. Thus its activities are gradually being confined to smaller groups, and a gap appears between the daily affairs of the union and its membership.

Broadening the Union

To solve this problem, the union will have to follow the example of other communities. And consciously or unconsciously, the development of our trade-unions is in that direction. Everywhere we see our unions launching various activities designed to meet the needs of its passive as well as its active "population." They are gradually including in their activities the needs, not only of the members, but also of their families. And through these activities the members are constantly in touch with their organization. Obviously, our unions have begun to appreciate the importance of giving some of their attention to the large inactive membership; for the union is a democratic institution.

Unfortunately, most of these members do not take advantage of the democratic machinery established in the union. They are silent on the most important problems of the organization. Yet if this multitude be left uninformed, it could, if it wished, destroy all the constructive plans of the organization.

Hence, the trade-unions' backing of the Workers' Education Movement. For they recognize in it the best instrument through which to reach the active as well as the passive membership; the alert and energetic as well as the inert and passive members. And to do this, workers' education will not in the future be confined so closely to the classroom, but will include all the intellectual, economic and recreational needs of the whole membership.

An encouraging practical development which reveals the expanding scope of the movement for workers' education is the growth of summer schools. Until recently, only two types of educational activity were developed. They were Labor Colleges and study classes conducted either by international and national trade unions, or state and city federations of labor, and, second, the Brookwood resident college. The first aimed to reach the masses of workers and give them the instruction that would increase their understanding of the problems, policies, aims and principles of the Labor Movement in particular and the problems of society in general, with the view that this would help them to comprehend the social force of the Labor Movement, its possibilities and its relation to society as a whole. The second, Brookwood Labor College, aims to attract a smaller number of serious-minded and capable young men and women with character who are determined to serve the Labor Movement in many capacities. These were to get more intensive study. Most significant is the atmosphere that prevails in

workers' classes. It makes an appeal to the worker for collective effort. It gives him more confidence in his own abilities and in the possibilities of his trade union. It confirms the opinion of many that the atmosphere and environment that prevails in workers' classes is just as important as the studies they pursue.

The summer schools where men and women, young and middle aged, assemble for a few weeks in country surroundings and combine education with their vacation, is the latest development in the field. Some of the students spend a week, some two weeks and even longer. Labor problems are discussed under the direction of specialists.

Summer Schooling

Since many of the workers cannot afford a two or even one week summer session, special one-day conferences are also held—as at Brookwood. There one conference discussed Workers' Education, with more than one hundred leaders and members of the rank and file present; another considered unemployment and group insurance.

Labor Chataquas held particularly in District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, and attended by workers and their families serve a somewhat similar purpose. Here workers hear speakers discuss their personal and trade problems.

The longer summer schools offer courses of general type to interest all the workers, and also subjects of special interest to particular labor groups.

One of these sessions on specific problems—the first Railroad Labor Institute that met in Brookwood from August 2nd to 9th—was of historic significance. The first session was opened with a thoughtful and inspiring address by Mr. Bert Jewell, President of the Railroad Department of the American Federation of Labor, who emphasized the fact that organized labor is determined to meet the needs of its members, whether they be economic, social, recreational, or educational. It was a momentous occasion. It has been customary for railroad executives to hold such institutes for the discussion of railroad problems, but this is the first time in history that organized railroad workers assembled in their own institute to discuss the vexing problems of the railroad as affecting the public, management, and trade unions. In their discussions they were guided by expert technicians.

The Workers' Education Bureau, at its recent Philadelphia convention, said:

"The importance of the development of summer courses cannot be over-estimated, especially to those who are confined by the routine character of their union work, so that there is danger to some of them of losing touch with progress, with new ideas, for lack of exchange of opinions with their fellow-workers. These conferences and summer courses



IDOLS—AND FALSE VIEWS
Fall before widespread education. That's an old historic story.

make for a broadening of vision which comes with an interchange of views and experiences. They tend to make for a clearer understanding of and a broader outlook on their own activities and problems." And last, but not least, is the importance of having workers and labor officials meet, who belong to different tendencies in the labor movement. Such a meeting must lead ultimately to a better understanding between various groups in the labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor has for several years expressed its appreciation of the value of the workers' education movement. By giving official recognition to the Workers' Education Bureau, the Labor Movement stated its realization of the importance of workers' education. More recently came the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at El Paso, on the recommendation of the Committee on Education, presided over by President Green, by a numerous vote of the delegates, to recommend to its affiliated unions to finance the Workers' Education Bureau by paying affiliation dues on the per capita basis; namely one-half cent per member per annum.

As a consequence of this new financial basis of affiliation, the Fourth Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau, held in Philadelphia, April 17, 18, 19, 1925, changed the basis of voting and the method of electing the Executive Board, which henceforth will be composed of group representation. Hence, the newly elected board consists of eleven members. Three were appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor, three represent international and national unions, two the student body of labor colleges and study classes, and one state and city federations of labor. The president and secretary were nominated and elected at large. These two officers will be the unifying force of the organization.

At present, international and national unions representing a considerable membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are paying their dues to the Bureau on a per capita basis. With this begins a new era in the development of workers'

education, when the Labor Movement gradually assumes responsibility for the activities of the Bureau. Through the Workers' Education Bureau, also, the American Labor movement participates in the movement to establish an International Federation of Workers' Education.

The history of the trade union movement is in two stages. Hitherto attention has been devoted chiefly to the creation of an organization. But even at a time when the entire energy of the Labor Movement was consumed in building a union, and its whole attention consciously concentrated on immediate economic demands, subconsciously it was concerned with the attainment of ultimate aims, although at such a period in the history of the trade union movement it could not think of anything else but the "trenches."

We are now reaching the second stage in the development of the Labor Movement, when our trade unions are established in this country. Now the movement is clamoring for more and more recognition, and asserts itself in many directions. The Labor Movement finds itself branching out into many fields. It reveals itself, for instance, in the proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and international and national unions, alert and interested in everything that goes on in our world, whether it is the Child Labor Amendment, decisions and power of the U. S. Supreme Court, the attitude of state and national legislators, the power of our judiciary to grant injunctions, conservation of natural resources, the plight of German workers and the conditions of their unions, international relations, such as the attitude of our government toward Mexico and the recent situation in China, public education, whether elementary, high school, or university, and last, but not least, workers' education.

The Labor Movement is beginning to realize that it is not enough to provide for workers' education for individuals, but that it must give training for collective work. This movement must express the ideals, aims and problems of the Labor Movement, so that the young worker who found the unions already in existence and was not engaged in the supreme effort for their creation, should be brought up in such an atmosphere as will strengthen his faith in the Labor Movement. It is going further and planning to include activities for the wives and daughters of trade unionists.

The Labor Movement is determined to make its independent contribution to workers' education in the hope that its influence will be far-reaching. In this effort, it is getting the inspiring co-operation of honest and earnest men and women of letters, economists, sociologists and historians. These men and women in sympathy with the Labor Movement have at last found a way to function in it.

Is a Shorter Work-day Enough?

By REX B. HERSEY

WITH Prof. Hersey's thought that the day is near at hand for a halt on the shorter work-day, we cannot agree. But that the need for rest periods in work is great, with our machine method in force, no one can deny. Union workers should realize this more and more. Prof. Hersey's studies throw new light on a subject—Industrial Psychology—heretofore but little understood.

AREN'T you often forced to smile at the mistakes so many employers make in handling their labor force? They may possess all the knowledge available about the machinery in their plant, about various methods of wage payment, about markets for their products, or about the planning and routing of production. They may utilize all sorts of tests by which they endeavour to fit "the round peg in the round hole." Such managerial tools are both helpful and necessary, but the utmost efficiency will never be attained, unless more is learned of that hitherto almost unexplored realm; man, the factors that move him to action and the conditions under which he can attain the greatest degree of activity with the least harmful results.

Yet do not conclude from my introductory paragraph that this problem is of importance to the employer alone. It is of immensely greater importance to the mass of the workers and their leaders. For it concerns the only capital the worker as a class owns: his health, his strength, his ability to produce efficiently, his happiness in life. The average employer seems unable to understand that in the true welfare of his workers he finds his own best interests. He is willing to "let well enough alone," provided conditions do not become too annoying. On the other hand, too frequently in the past, changes have been introduced with only an eye to profit and no consideration of their effects on the workers. Such being the case, is it not the duty of the worker to assist the scientist in determining what constitutes right living and right working?

In this short article I can present to you only one phase of your relation to your job, your fellow-workers, your home and your future. I ask you to remember, as you read, that there are many other problems in this same general field, that of relating man and his job, which demand just as much consideration. The special problem I now wish to discuss with you concerns what we have come to look upon as a fundamental demand of union labor: a shorter working day. The time will some day come

when it will be impossible to jump up in meeting and thoughtlessly move that "we demand a shorter day." Your guess is as good as mine as to when that limit will be reached. The eight-hour day or at best the forty-four hour week seems a fairly just limit at present. At any rate further decrease will prove extremely difficult.

8 and 10 Hours—and Fatigue

Has this reduction in hours, however, brought the workers' fatigue to the point where we need no longer heed its effects? In those jobs, where variety and interest still exist, it possibly has. Where monotony or exacting physical tension rules, I feel that investigations of the past two years enable me to present some tentative findings for your consideration, in the light of which the policies of both employers and trade unions may be shifted to their *mutual* benefit.

For purposes of illustration, I shall refer to a study which involved a comparison of two plants, one a photo-mount plant, the other a textile plant.* Both plants typified good general conditions, such as a fair labor policy, wide-awake management, steady attention to working conditions and the need of regular employment. The operations compared were sufficiently alike as regards their physical and mental tension to discount the fact that the two plants represented different industries. The main distinction was that the photo-mount plant was an eight-hour plant, while the textile plant worked a ten-hour day.

One would expect, under conditions such as these, that the fatigue and the mental attitude of the workers in the ten-hour plant would be relatively much worse than in the eight-hour plant. They were, but unfortunately it was impossible to compare them directly. The management in the photo-mount plant is exceedingly wide-awake and had already taken into consideration relative fatigue per unit of time

* Rex B. Hersey, "Rests, Authorized and Unauthorized."—*Journal of Personnel Research*, June, 1925, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 37-45.

LABOR AGE

worked and had introduced rest-periods for all girls and the men working with them, before we were invited to make the investigation. The other men were not given rests, because most of them were machine fixers or "make-ready" men and it was considered that their work possessed sufficient variety and interest. The definite general rest-period was employed, breaks of 15 minutes being given at 10:00 a. m. and 3:00 p. m. In the afternoon the girls were given a snack to eat: pretzels and milk or fruit.

Bad "Day Dreams"

In the ten-hour plant conditions were formerly particularly bad in those departments where monotony and continuous physical tension, however slight, existed. For instance, the yearly turn-over in the spinning department averaged 250 per cent. or more—for no assignable reason. The reveries or "day-dreams" of the workers in both sorting and spinning departments were always pessimistic—of physical ailments, personal worries, unfounded suspicions of the foreman or other workers, dissatisfaction with their status or conditions of life. Many also claimed they had neuritis in various parts of arm, shoulder or leg. Foot trouble was often found.† The testimony of foremen and others acquainted with the situation in the eight-hour plant is that, before the introduction of the rest-periods, the same mental attitude, differing only in degree, was found among the workers engaged in monotonous but usually light work on printing presses and finishing machines.

In fact, one may be justified in drawing the conclusion, not only from these cases I have cited but also from observation in other plants, that it is not severe muscular or mental fatigue alone that causes irritation, pessimism, and lack of general physical and mental vitality in so many of our industrial workers. It is rather that a very slight amount of continuous physical tension, coupled with lack of interest in the monotonous task one is doing, provides a medium through which our daily troubles and human worries flow to retard the vital activities and emotions. These worries are usually caused by conditions external to the plant and are as a rule far more important to the individual than his plant life. Fatigue in the factory then usually comes from two causes: Restraint and Tension of some sort. The function of restraint will be familiar to all of you;

tension acts in four forms:

- (a) Physical tension.
- (b) Mental tension.
- (c) Both physical and mental tension.
- (d) Physical tension with restricted activity and practically all the mental strain eliminated or reduced to mere habit.

Worry and Rest Periods

In all the operations under observation in both plants there was considerable physical tension, especially induced by the workers having to be on their feet all the time, with very little mental tension and no variety. In other words there was little need for any conscious thought connected with the job. Only some rare breakdown in the machinery or blemish in the material forced the workers' conscious attention to function in regard to their work. Practically all the time they were free to think about everything under the sun. Worry and uncertainty, fear and sorrow being more pertinacious than happiness, and the pessimistic conductivity of the body having been raised by physical tension, practically all of their unconscious thoughts were naturally pessimistic.

Under such circumstances what would you advise? Who was to blame, the employing group, the workers, or the long list of men who had invented and perfected the machinery and methods used? That is a useless question; rather ask, "How change a condition that is prevalent throughout so much of industry?"

In the two cases mentioned the rest-period idea was used. I have already mentioned how the rests were worked out in the eight-hour plant; in the ten-hour plant they were arranged somewhat differently: two hours work, then ten minutes rest; one hour and thirty minutes work and then ten more minutes rest; one hour's work and then the noon hour or quitting time. But neither the slight difference in arrangement or in the total time spent can explain the interesting results. Psychologically the workers in the ten-hour plant threw off their pessimistic and unhealthy reveries and in the end little distinction was to be noticed in the mental condition of the workers in the two plants.

How could that happen? It is in opposition to general opinion. The secret lies, I believe, in the way the workers rested. In the eight-hour plant they did as they pleased, usually going to the rest rooms and there talking or dancing. In the ten-hour plant they lay down and were taught how to relax every muscle completely, just as in sleep. In

† Elton Mayo, "Revery and Industrial Fatigue."—*Journal of Personnel Research*, December, 1924, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 273-281.

MAKING WORK HAPPY



One thing—not mentioned by Prof. Hersey—to insure workers' content, is to give them Group Control, as in Hamburg Painting Guild. One of its trucks, above.

fact, practically every man now sleeps regularly in the afternoon rests, sometimes in the morning also. The result has been that not only did the happiness of all the workers concerned—and their families—increase but that the turnover in both plants was reduced to what I believe to be the trade minimum. Production for the twenty months of rests in the ten-hour plant show an average increase of 14 per cent., while the management of the eight-hour plant are certain that the rests did not cause their production to fall off. Beyond that they were not concerned, as they introduced the rests for “the well-being of the workers rather than with the idea of direct profit.”

Why Not Happier Work?

To some of you, over six feet tall and broad in proportion, this idea of complete relaxation may seem a rather grandmotherly policy for industrial life. But the lion, though known as the “King of Beasts” and able physically to overcome quite a number of the strongest of men, is not afraid to pursue that policy. He hunts (his work) with all his mental and physical faculties tuned up to the keenest pitch. He rests just as completely by sleeping whenever he is tired, provided the exigencies of his life permit it. A check on twenty of the best workers in the eight-hour plant showed that sixteen of them usually sat quiet and relaxed during their rest-

period, sometimes lying down. The Chinese accuse us of being a nation with no place for our old people. Certainly our industry seems tending to become less and less a place for older workers. Even the benefits of a shorter day have not given them a richer promise of being able to be self-supporting in their old age. We are conserving our natural resources. Why do we not conserve the mental and physical strength of our young men and women by more efficient yet happier work?

From the facts I have pointed out one might argue that it is not the amount of time worked per day that is of prime importance; it is the mental attitude in which one works and the physical condition under which one works. Such a premise contains some grains of truth and we may as well admit it. Many people who are *interested in their work*, carry on for twelve hours a day and are happy. Many others work only forty-four hours a week and are unhappy. They are usually bored by their work yet fritter their leisure away in actions that make them less capable workers, less well-informed citizens and less worthy parents. One poignant illustration of this lamentable trait in human nature is the small attendance at most union meetings, 10 or 15 per cent. of the membership being a rather high estimate.

It may be, then, that we need to revise our methods of solving industrial difficulties, of creating interest in the union, of making industrial life happier. It

Correspondence Lessons

Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau

By C. J. HENDLEY

Progress of the American Labor Movement

LESSON V.

Early Discouragements

THE union men in the early days of our history most have many times felt discouraged. So many of their efforts seem to have ended in failure. About 1827 they suddenly began to organize political parties, establish newspapers, and work with such enthusiasm and zeal that their movement soon spread over the whole country; but in five years it was dying down. Then they returned to trade union principles with equal enthusiasm. Their unions grew rapidly and central labor bodies were established in cities and towns. They even attempted to organize unions on a national scale. But the panic of 1837 wrecked their hopes; the power of the unions was broken. Again they entered politics, but with no better success than a few years before. During the 40's labor leaders were interested in great social reforms, and became hopelessly divided on the socialistic schemes put forth at that time. Then in the 50's they again turned to pure trade union principles with as much zeal as ever, only to see their work apparently destroyed by the panic of 1857.

Early Successes

But as we look back over the movement of those days, we can see that, in spite of the disheartening failures, labor grew in power and effectiveness. The progress of labor might be likened to the coming in of the tide. Each successive wave runs upon the shore and then recedes; but after each recession we can see that the water is a little higher than it was before. Labor's successes and failures were teaching their lessons. And there were visible accomplishments to cheer them on. Free, public schools gradually came into existence; imprisonment for debts was abolished; the ten-hour day became the standard work-day and was adopted on federal government work (1840); the homestead law was enacted (1862); labor's power in collective bargaining grew; its influence was shown in the platforms of the political parties; and, above all, labor's aspiration for

better conditions was not smothered; new leaders arose to voice the hopes and demands of labor.

In this past progress we can see encouragement for us of the present time. There are, indeed, many things to discourage us. The mills of the gods grind exceedingly slow. Our lives are so short; our movement so long and so big and complex. Yet, in spite of these disheartening circumstances, we feel labor accumulating power and slowly coming into its own. We cannot hope to see the millenium; but can we not feel triumphant, when we realize that progress is being made in spite of great obstacles?

Civil War Causes Great Changes

In this lesson we are to study the labor movement of the Civil War period and just afterwards. The most important progress during this time was toward the establishment of big national and international unions. Notwithstanding failures of the 30's, the 40's, and the 50's, we find labor vigorous enough in the 60's to expand into dimensions greater than ever before.

There were great industrial changes that made these larger organizations necessary and possible. The Civil War has been described as an industrial revolution; and when we consider the industrial expansion of this country from 1860 to 1880, we can agree that it was a revolutionary change. The war itself caused a great expansion in industry, the demand for war materials causing big factories to be established and large numbers of women and children to be employed. The government, in order to raise revenues, put a high tariff on imported goods, and these so checked imports that home manufacturers were encouraged to build more factories. These war tariffs remained in force for twenty years, to the great profit of the American manufacturers.

Great Industrial Progress

We might summarize the great industrial changes as follows:

TRANSPORTATION

Great increase in the mileage of the railroads and the combining of the smaller roads into the big sys-

may be that the spirit and conditions of work, machine work certainly, are today such that they tend to dull the highest function of man: his ability to grow mentally. I have tried to discuss, too briefly, only one phase of the big problem of happiness in life and work. Some of my findings may later have

to be revised, but will you not agree with me that the union of the future must concern itself more than in the past, with the fundamental facts and laws on which human nature and industry, national progress and the final reason for living rest? In other words, is more money and a shorter working day enough?

tems. It was during the 60's that the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Erie, the Burlington, the Milwaukee and St. Paul, and the Philadelphia and Reading systems were organized by combining many short lines.

THE WEST

Great development in the west. Improved transportation brought the west closer to the eastern markets, and improved farm machinery, increased the production of the western farms. Thus the purchasing power of the west was greatly increased, and the home market for American manufacturers greatly expanded.

IRON AND STEEL

Great improvements made in the manufacture of iron and steel, such as the hot-air blast, use of coke instead of anthracite coal, the Bessemer process, etc. At the same time the increase in the use of machinery and railroad building greatly increased the demand for steel. The value of iron and steel products in the United States increased more than eight-fold from 1860 to 1880.

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

There was a great increase in textile manufacture and expansion along new lines. Silk manufacture greatly increased, as did the manufacture of carpets, hosiery and knit goods. At the same time there was great improvement in the use of power machinery in this industry.

CLOTHING AND SHOES

The manufacture of these was revolutionized by the wide-spread use of the sewing machine and various automatic shoe-manufacturing machines. As the result of the use of new machinery it is said that the labor cost of making 100 pairs of shoes was reduced from \$408.50 by hand labor in 1859 to \$35.40 by machinery in 1895.

EXPANSION OF MARKETS

As a result of this development great national markets came into existence. Instead of producing merely for local markets, manufacturers competed with each other to supply the market that extended over half a continent. As a result competition was intensified and made less easily controlled. As one result of this there developed powerful middle-men, who specialized in finding markets for goods, and who became dominant figures in industry.

Great Changes in the Conditions of Labor

Now the first effect of this industrial expansion and fierce competition was to reduce wages and make conditions of employment harder. William H. Sylvius, of the moulder's union, thus describes the conditions in his country:

"The employers saw a possibility of monopolizing almost the whole trade of the country, and set themselves about doing so. . . . The first act of the drama (I might more properly say tragedy, for it resulted in squeezing the blood and tears from its victims), was to reduce the margin of profit to the lowest possible standard, that they might go into the market below all others. Owing to fluctuations in prices of materials, their profits would sometimes disappear entirely.

"This they used as an argument to the workmen, telling them that owing to the unfair competition of other manufacturers, they were unable to advance their selling prices, and that being unable to compete without loss they must either close up or cut wages. The men being unorganized and supposing that they were being honestly dealt with, readily submitted to reduction. This reduction of wages was small, but after being repeated two or three times, the men became restive and disposed to complain."

Sylvius tells how some workers were bold enough to protest, but were promptly fired for their pains. Employers employed all sorts of tricks to keep their employees from organizing. One method used was to encourage religious and racial prejudices among the workers. Sylvius goes on:

"Then commenced the contract system. Next each man was required to furnish his own tools at their prices. Next came the order system. With this was introduced the helper system; and stoves were cut up, that is, each man made one piece. It got so it was customary for each man to have from one to five boys; and piece-rates became so low that men were obliged to increase the hours of labor, and work harder; and then could scarcely obtain the plainest necessities of life."

National Unions Formed

As a consequence of these conditions just described the moulders formed a national union. Local unions could have done no good; because the employers were competing with one another throughout the country's markets.

Conditions similar to this forced other trades to organize in the same way. Workers in all lines complained of unfair dealing on the part of the employers, complained of low piece rates, the helper system, and the big powerful companies which they could not deal with to advantage. The employers always had the excuse that competition was forcing them to cut wages. Starvation wages and hard conditions left nothing that labor could do but to try to organize big unions. This it did and with good success.

Study pages 62 to 85 of Mrs. Beard's book on this subject.

Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

AGAIN: THE LA FOLLETTE MEMORIAL

A NUMBER of suggestions have come, in answer to our thought that something should be done about a Memorial to "Fighting Bob" La Follette.

We are not sure how feasible some of them may be. But we wish again to express the hope that Organized Labor will find it possible to remember in a definitely helpful way to others, the work of their staunch champion.

When almost all other politicians failed them, La Follette stood out ready to battle for the workers. He never closed his ear to the cry of oppressed groups. Those whom he was so willing to help, when it cost him dear to do so, should not forget him now. The best expression would probably be in the form of some effort that would aid to educate the workers in the intricacies of political action. We look forward to its being done.

HETCH-HETCHY, BOULDER CANYON, CONOWINGO

Electrical Workers Stand with "Public"

SAYS the official publication of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, reviewing the work before its Seattle convention: "Everywhere, as electrical workers meet in Seattle, there is evidence of a more or less visible struggle in progress between the present entrenched owners of electrical generating stations and equipment and the public. At Hetch-Hetchy, Boulder Canyon, Muscle Shoals and Conowingo, the issue is clearly drawn."

These are the names of battlefields in American history, as vital to us and our descendants as Valley Forge or Gettysburg. The General Electric Company, super-trust that it already is, fights with all its strength and resources to secure the water power of the nation—located in part at each of these key places.

The conflict is a momentous one. Electric power is the source of future industrial control. We are entering the Electric Age, when other forms of power will be driven to the background. Railroad consolidation will speed railroad electrification. Farm-house and mill will equally require electric energy. The electric companies themselves are uniting as rapidly as possible, from coast to coast, to be able to cope with this "demand upon them."

The question is: Shall this new source of power be used for the service of the mass of the people or shall it be diverted for the profit of the Electric Trust, as we have foolishly allowed railroads, coal mines and other public necessities to slip through our fingers?

The Electrical Workers, those engaged in this industry, have taken their stand in the fight. They are

with the "public" and against the Electric Trust. As they state: "They have frankly voiced their belief that public ownership of water-power developments presents the only safe solution for the future." The growth of the Telephone Trust is their text for this attitude. As workers in the telephone industry, they know what the Trust has meant in that field. The consumers, of course, are well-informed from experience.

This the Electrical Workers consider the biggest item on their program for the next two years. Success in their renewed battle in the next Congress over Muscle Shoals depends—on how much support Senator Norris and themselves receive from the rest of the American workers.

WHERE ARE YOU, AMERICANS?

Power Monopoly Threatens—And You Sleep

NOTHING was ever won by going to sleep about it. We American workers are trying just that thing. We are the original "Rip Van Winkles" when it comes to standing up for our rights in 1925.

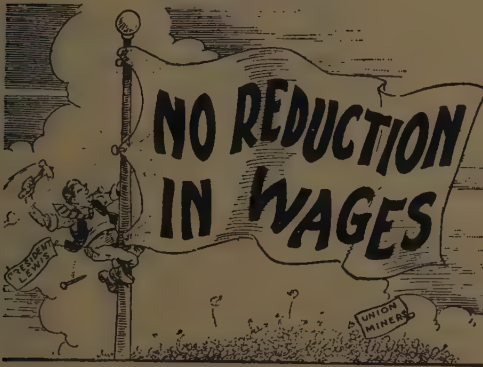
This means You—and it doesn't mean maybe. The Greatest Trust in the History of the World is being formed—and we say not a word about it. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is going after it. The A. F. of L. has attacked it. But the mass of us have done nothing—while the enormous corporate combination rushes on to do its "darnest" against us.

Electric combinations are going on everywhere. "On July 9th," the Public Ownership League informs us, "announcement was made in the press of a giant merger in Wisconsin that all but completed the private monopoly of the power in that state.

On July 25th, it was announced that the Mid-Western Utilities Company had perfected mergers and consolidations that gave it control of the utility service in 1,269 cities, towns and villages in 18 different states. And these are but illustrations and incidents of the onrush of these titanic powers."

"General" Guy E. Tripp, General Chairman of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, tells us frankly that as soon as possible there must be a single, nation-wide, super-power system and that it must be privately owned.

SHE'S UP TO STAY



United Mine Workers Journal

The Public Ownership League is opposing this vicious combine. It needs your support, morally and financially. Become a member and help spread its message; so that in this hour of crisis, the people will not fail. Here is something of what it is doing:

"It has prepared and had introduced in Congress the Norris-Keller bill providing for a general nation-wide public power system. It co-operates with the progressive forces in Congress in the effort to save Muscle Shoals and make it the first unit of the public power system. It works with the city of Los Angeles and the people of the southwest for the public development of the hydro-electric power of the Colorado River; with Seattle, Tacoma and the northwest, for a similar development of the Columbia River. It has had in its membership from the beginning, Sir Adam Beck and the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, and co-operates with them and other similar forces for public power in the northeast. It co-operates with the local, state, national and international organizations of labor and with the organized farmers. Locally, it has already co-operated with literally hundreds of cities in helping them to acquire or build or to hold and extend electric light and power plants. It is steadily extending this service with the purpose of ultimately enlisting all of the 2,681 cities that

already own their plants and hundreds of others that are moving in that direction."

Get busy. This is your affair!

THE BLACK MAN CLAIMS ATTENTION

HE of the strange speech and foreign ways of thinking comes no longer to our shores.

The net immigration during the fiscal year ending June 30, fell off 68 per cent. from that of the year before. Only 201,586 more immigrants came to America in 1924-5, as against 630,107 for the previous twelve months. The exact figure for the newcomers in 1924-5 was 294,314 with 92,738 nationals returning to their own countries. As nearly two-thirds of these came from Canada and Mexico, the European flood has been stemmed by our immigration laws.

With the "Old Country" shut off as a source of cheap labor supply, the Employing Interests fall back upon the black man. He is looked upon as the potential strike-breaker in future big labor troubles. He is the man who is being lured north, to take the immigrant's place as the cutter-down of labor standards.

To the black man, Labor must turn—not to attack him, but to organize him. A Committee for the Organization of Negro Workers has been established in New York. Its chairman is Thomas J. Curtis, well-known labor leader; its secretary, Frank Cross-thwaite, a negro active in labor and Socialist circles. The needle trades have already interested themselves in the negro organization problem—at least, the International Ladies' Garment Workers have done so. The president of one of their active unions is a negro, although the majority of that local's members are not members of his race.

The Communists have also called an American Negro Labor Congress; but this has been attacked by President Green of the A. F. of L. as opposed by Organized Labor. The National Urban League, an organization for the uplift of the negro, has also taken some steps toward looking into the negro's economic status and his relation to trade unionism.

As time goes on, the black man will claim more attention as a prospective member of the Labor Movement. Organization in that field will not only remove a great menace to the unions, but also be the most effective way to lift him from exploitation—even from those of his own racial brethren.

IN EUROPE

DAWESIAN DARKNESS

TROOPS have left the Ruhr, but trouble refuses to depart. Now it is the mines. Under-consumption of coal has hit the German collieries just as it is hitting those of Britain, America, Belgium and France.

Over 40 mines have become idle in the former occupied territory. They have thrown a large fraction of the miners out of employment. Their closing has had a bad effect on the iron industry, many of the furnaces closing down.

But where is the much-touted Dawes Plan that

was to save the world, and the Germans in particular? Wall Street's pet scheme, under which the German workers have been enslaved as never before, cut to the bone the miners' wages. With this drastic action, it could not assure employment. It has left the miners of the Ruhr low-waged and ill-employed.

ANSWERING THE "CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE"

LITTLE Why-Why—hero of Andrew Lang's charming "Romance of the First Radical"—would have felt at home at the British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough this last month.

The organized workers of Britain are continuing their march toward the Left. The Labor Party has become a mild variety of "Radicalism" compared to the crimson hue of sections of the union movement. Even the "left" group in the Party have received the censure of their trade-union colleagues by their half-apologetic vote for Imperial Preference in tariffs. The Amsterdam International itself is pledged to Free Trade.

The "glorious week," as Chairman A. B. Swales called the Miners' week of victory, has put courage and militancy into the hearts of the British toilers. They will need these qualities in full store to face "the capitalist offensive," as they call it, which is being waged against them. British Big Business is seeing nightmares. It feels that it is in danger of losing its place as an Imperialist nation. Its exports have fallen off rapidly every year since the beginning of the war, and the Dawes Plan means that Germany will come into the world markets to hit British goods even harder. Wall Street has arranged that little surprise for the Britishers, to its own advantage.

The obvious way for the British Big Business interests to move, is to make further attacks on Labor. They went after the Miners and Railwaymen at the same time—but with more than doubtful success. They have also attacked the textile workers—the first tie-up of the woolen industry for 100 years resulting.

The coal compromise by way of a subsidy to the Coal-owners is recognized by all elements as merely a postponement of the real show-down. A. J. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation, has promised the miners that the big fight is still ahead. Chairman Swales of the Trade Union General Council has spoken of a winter "rising of the people," in which Labor should be "ready to back them," and has stated further that "the workers will have to take over the land and control the means of production in their own interests."

The trade unions, formerly conservative in comparison to the Labor Party, are now complaining that the Labor Party is too hesitant and "statesmanlike." President Herbert Smith of the miners threatened to force a division between the Labor

THE SUBSIDIZED MINE-OWNER—POOR BEGGAR!



Trade Union Unity

Party and Trade Union Congress because the former group always failed in the real fight, he charges. Although the British spirit of compromise won there, the fettle of the unionists was made clear. A cut since 1921 of \$10,000,000,000 in wages, and the threat of further wage-cuts, have brought the workers to a fighting pitch. That and unemployment have made them desperate and pushed them to the Left.

OVER THE GOLDEN FLEECE

British Textile War—After 100 Years' Peace

COMBATS mighty and bloody took place in the old Greek legend before Jason had secured the Golden Fleece.

More combats are on in Britain over a fleece equally golden in its returns to the Textile Owners. For the first time in 100 years, as Ben Turner reports, a general lockout has struck the British woolen textile industry. Over 150,000 workers went on the streets in July, as the employers demanded a 5 per cent. reduction or threatened a lockout.

"For ages," says Turner, "the woolen workers have been worse paid than our better organized friends in the cotton trade." In the boom time which followed the close of the war, "the employers were making immense profits, and our folks got a little bit." According to the *Economist*, the year 1924 was a good one in the woolen trade, largely due to the rise in prices as the war-accumulated stock went down. But no sooner did a slump hit business this year than the employers decided to take it out of the workers in wage cuts. This was not for the purpose of cutting prices, but to make up the margin of profit which the woolen mill owners had been enjoy-

ing. Much of this profit was on bloated capitalization, given out in many instances in the form of bonus stocks and meaning nothing of actual value added to production.

Of the spirit of the workers in the fight, Turner reports:

"I have never seen finer unity of the unions. Overlookers, foremen and managers, unions of craftsmen and all other unions in the trade have joined forces and have worked admirably together. It has been a marvelous revelation to me to see this growth of trade union unity."

DOLES, DOLTS, DOLLARS, DOLORS

FRANTIC are the stratagems and schemes devised by Premier Baldwin of Great Britain to hide the continuing unemployment crisis in that isle.

First, the ostrich-like policy was adopted of trying to cut off a number of workers from the "dols," as its enemies call the unemployment benefit. This was done by petty prescriptions and conditions made by the Minister of Labor, so that temporarily the number receiving relief fell. In that way, it would look as though the country were prosperous.

But the number soon rose once more, despite the new conditions. Something further had to be done, so as to save the shekels, pay the interest on the National Debt (in which the Big Business interests are heavily interested), and make a show of good times to the world.

The Insurance Act of Mr. Winston Churchill's was thought up for that purpose. It takes away the benefits granted to those long out of work, allowed by the Labor Party's bill, and also extends the time before one can apply for unemployment benefits.

The number of unemployed stood at 1,368,000 in June of this year (according to the Labour Research Department) compared to 1,015,000 in June of last year—despite the new restrictions. The figures always go higher in the winter season—and portend another severe and unsettled winter in Britain.

The moral seems to run: "Dols decreased by Dolts for Dollars deepen Dolors for the Dolts."

Baldwin, at all odds, is in for a hot time this December—as his crime against the unemployed deserves.

TORY "TITUBATION"

Especially Given to 8-Hour Conventions, Et Cetera

OUR cross-word puzzle refers to a word of 10 letters, meaning in medical language "a peculiar, staggering gait."

"Titubation" is the word, and it applies to the Tory record on legislation favorable to the working

THAT STERN AND ROCKBOUND COAST

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The reactionary "New York Herald-Tribune" thus rejoices over "American" exclusion policy.

class. Staggering was its action on the Rent Acts, by which the Government has extended these measures of protection to the tenants for a mere two years more. "A landlord's bill" is the name given it by the Labor forces, quite aptly. There is no chance under the sun that the housing shortage will be remedied by that time—and the fate of the tenant, with the eviction possibility staring him in the face in 24 months, is anything but pleasant to think upon.

The building profiteers have been treated as lightly as the food profiteers, while the tenant is thus being steam-rolled. The Wheatley Bill against profiteering in building, which could have meant nothing if no profiteering were going on, has been killed through the violent opposition of the building employers.

The new Pensions Bill, introduced with a great flourish, puts the burden of raising the money for their own pensions on the workers themselves, by compulsion. The bill as drawn covers widows, orphans and the aged. Labor demands that the contributory feature be stricken out, and that the whole community pay to keep up those to whom the community owes existence—the veterans of industry and the widows and orphans of the social struggle. Also, that the scale of benefits be increased. Amendment after amendment are already "on the boards." So

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that the measure may look quite different by the time it comes to final passage.

Then, there is the 8-hour international agreement—mere “waste paper” so far for Britain, Tom Shaw sarcastically remarks. Under the guiding spirit of the League of Nations, representatives of employers, governments and employed met at Washington in 1919 and drew up this Labor Charter. Every effort was to be made to effect the 8-hour day in every country. Continental Labor has made some headway with the idea. Shaw enumerates the follow-

ing as having “begun to commence” on getting such legislation: France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Austria, Esthonia, Finland and Denmark. The first-named country, in particular, has declared over and over again its interest in making the 8-hour day internationally effective. But Britain lags behind. Neither Baldwin nor F. B. I. nor any employers’ group has rushed out to fulfill the promises made over six years ago.

So, through its social and labor policy goes the Tory Party—at a staggering gait. Its “titubation” is tremendous.

ATTACKING THE HOUSING PROBLEM



Dutch workers have gone after the “Housing Problem” by building co-operative houses such as these, proving that group effort can do things.

“INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY”

(Continued from page ii)

There you are. And that is merely part of the picture. Grievances cannot be presented, the voice of the workers cannot be heard properly with the employer owning and controlling their representatives, through the pay envelope. Freedom becomes a farce; industrial democracy a mere “will o’ the wisp.”

American Labor has a bigger job on its hands, growing out of this development, than in merely exposing the “hokum” in these schemes. It must present its own program of Industrial Democracy. It must drive forward toward its own goal of Workers Control, a real control.

Education and Militancy are the answers. Education, which will advise the active spirits and then the mass of the workers of the goal of the Movement, of the problems of Industry, of the way to democratic control. Militancy, which will go beyond Collective Bargaining, and fire the unorganized with the vision of Real Democracy—in which they will participate as free men in deciding the destinies of the Industry in which they work.

The new season for Education and Organization is here. In these pages we present some few of the things Labor is seeking to do in an educational way. They call, not only for encouragement, but for examination as to how much more should be done, to speed up an intelligent and aggressive counter-drive to that of the Employing Interests.

ARE LABOR GOVERNMENTS REVOLUTIONARY?

NEW SOUTH WALES has registered for Labor in its recent election. Queensland's five-year Labor government still standing, and other parts of the Island Continent having gone in the same direction, a Labor-governed Australia is likely again within a comparatively short time. Premier Theodore of Queensland has retired from that direction, in order to prepare for the day when he will be called to the Labor Premiership of the whole country.

This occurrence and others going on elsewhere throughout the world, make appropriate the question raised by an article in the current *AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW*. In a few words, it runs: "Will Labor Governments in reality bring a social revolution?"

The author, a professor of the University of Nebraska, after looking over the record of labor parties, is inclined to think that they will not lead to anything of the kind. We are more likely to see a political revolution without a social revolution. Which meaneth, speaking nicely: Labor in control but very little resulting therefrom.

Experience on the continent, where Socialism has been much stronger than in England or in America, bears him out in this, he avers. "Germany's 'social revolution' is but a name; the excesses of syndicalism in Italy have resulted in Fascism; and even in Russia . . . the force of circumstances beyond governmental control seems to be leading the country back toward capitalism."

But the South Sea republics of Australia and New Zealand seem to him to tell the tale better than anywhere else. Labor has triumphed in every one of

the districts and in the Commonwealth itself, at one time or another. Before the war, it was in complete control—until the problem of conscription split it. In New Zealand, also, Labor has had plenty of practice in governing. Outside of the numerous publicly-owned utilities and the effort of the workers to gain all they can on the industrial field, there has been no "fundamental" interferences with property.

The causes for this have been largely, three: The discretion of the leaders, the frequent political weakness of the party, although in control (as in the case of the MacDonald government in England), and the club which capitalist interests can hold over them through the control of credit to the state enterprises. There is a fourth, to be more apparent in the future, we are told: The growing unity of the capitalist-minded groups as soon as Labor shows political strength. The rushing of Liberals into the Tory Party in Britain is cited as proof. In the United States a Republican-Democratic alliance is forecast, if Labor continues to feel politically independent.

All of which sounds something like this: Labor parties do not provide immediately—startling changes. National and economic limitations hedge them in. If the larger countries of the world were to be governed by Labor for a period of some years, it would be safe to predict that there would be great changes, despite the falling to the wayside of some leaders and many followers here and there. As to whether that would bring on a social revolution largely depends upon the actions of those who possess economic power. That is history over and over again.

KELLOGG HELPS THE "REDS"

RECENTLY there has been a warm dispute between Charles Willis Thompson and Heywood Broun as to whether the American people are idiots. Whoever won the debate, it is certain that the rulers of the American people are not far removed from idiocy. Little Cal qualifies on points innumerable. State Secretary Kellogg tries hard to keep up with him. First, it was Mexico. Now, it is the exclusion of the Communist deputy Saklatvala.

By this one act, Mr. Kellogg helps the Reds more than a hundred million rubles from Moscow's safes could do. He gives the excluded man a widespread forum through the press—which otherwise he would not have. Were he to have come here, only a few obscure Communist organizations would have paid heed to him. Now, he gets double notoriety and his views are heralded to the world.

The American Civil Liberties Union, as usual, hits the nail on the head when it says: "(Kellogg's act) attaches a far greater importance to Communist views than they merit, and raises an issue on which thousands of Americans have profound convictions. They are convinced that the American people can stand the discussion of any subject and that it is foolish to put a taboo on any ideas."

Cal and Kellogg have forgotten our American principles of liberty. They have imported the ideas of Mussolini; just as they have allowed Grand Duchess Cyril to come into America and numerous syphilitic offspring of European nobility while barring Count Karolyi, the Democratic leader of Hungary, and now the Communist Parsee.

The whole business is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.

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JUDGES—James H. Maurer, Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram and Mrs. Henry Villard

TIME LIMIT—December 1, 1925

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